

# OECONOMICA

## BOOK I

1 THE sciences of politics and economics differ not only as 1343<sup>a</sup>  
widely as a household and a city (the subject-matter with  
which they severally deal), but also in the fact that the  
science of politics involves a number of rulers, whereas the  
sphere of economics is a monarchy.

Now certain of the arts fall into sub-divisions, and it does 5  
not pertain to the same art to manufacture and to use the  
article manufactured, for instance, a lyre or pipes; but the  
function of political science is both to constitute a city in  
the beginning and also when it has come into being to make  
a right use of it. It is clear, therefore, that it must be the  
function of economic science too both to found a household  
and also to make use of it.

Now a city is an aggregate made up of households and land 10  
and property, possessing in itself the means to a happy life.  
This is clear from the fact that, if men cannot attain this  
end, the community is dissolved. Further, it is for this end  
that they associate together; and that for the sake of which  
any particular thing exists and has come into being is its  
essence. It is evident, therefore, that economics is prior in  
origin to politics; for its function is prior, since a household 15  
is part of a city. We must therefore examine economics  
and see what its function is.

2 The component parts of a household are man and  
property. But since the nature of any given thing is most  
quickly seen by taking its smallest parts, this would apply  
also to a household. So, according to Hesiod, it would be 20  
necessary that there should be

First and foremost a house, then a wife<sup>1</sup> . . . ,

<sup>1</sup> *Works and Days*, 405.

for the former is the first condition of subsistence, the latter is the proper possession of all freemen. We should have, therefore, as a part of economics to make proper rules for the association of husband and wife; and this involves providing what sort of a woman she ought to be.

25 In regard to property the first care is that which comes naturally. Now in the course of nature the art of agriculture is prior, and next come those arts which extract the products of the earth, mining and the like. Agriculture ranks first because of its justice; for it does not take anything away from men, either with their consent, as do retail trading and the mercenary arts, or against their will, as do the  
30 warlike arts. Further, agriculture is natural; for by nature  
1343<sup>b</sup> all derive their sustenance from their mother, and so men derive it from the earth. In addition to this it also conduces greatly to bravery; for it does not make men's bodies unserviceable, as do the illiberal arts, but it renders them  
5 able to lead an open-air life and work hard; furthermore it makes them adventurous against the foe, for husbandmen are the only citizens whose property lies outside the fortifications.

As regards the human part of the household, the first care 3  
is concerning a wife; for a common life is above all things natural to the female and to the male. For we have else-  
10 where <sup>1</sup> laid down the principle that nature aims at producing many such forms of association, just as also it produces the various kinds of animals. But it is impossible for the female to accomplish this without the male or the male without the female, so that their common life has necessarily arisen. Now in the other animals this intercourse is not based on reason, but depends on the amount of natural instinct which  
15 they possess and is entirely for the purpose of procreation. But in the civilized and more intelligent animals the bond of unity is more perfect (for in them we see more mutual help and goodwill and co-operation), above all in the case of man, because the female and the male co-operate  
20 to ensure not merely existence but a good life. And the

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *Eth. Nic.* 1162<sup>a</sup> 16 ff.; *Pol.* 1252<sup>a</sup> 26 ff.

production of children is not only a way of serving nature but also of securing a real advantage ; for the trouble which parents bestow upon their helpless children when they are themselves vigorous is repaid to them in old age when they are helpless by their children, who are then in their full vigour. At the same time also nature thus periodically provides for the perpetuation of mankind as a species, since <sup>25</sup> she cannot do so individually. Thus the nature both of the man and of the woman has been preordained by the will of heaven to live a common life. For they are distinguished in that the powers which they possess are not applicable to purposes in all cases identical, but in some respects their functions are opposed to one another though they all tend to the same end. For nature has made the one sex stronger, <sup>30</sup> the other weaker, that the latter through fear may be the more cautious, while the former by its courage is better <sup>1344<sup>a</sup></sup> able to ward off attacks ; and that the one may acquire possessions outside the house, the other preserve those within. In the performance of work, she made one sex able to lead a sedentary life and not strong enough to endure exposure, the other less adapted for quiet pursuits but well <sup>5</sup> constituted for outdoor activities ; and in relation to offspring she has made both share in the procreation of children, but each render its peculiar service towards them, the woman by nurturing, the man by educating them.

- 4 First, then, there are certain laws to be observed towards a wife, including the avoidance of doing her any wrong ; for thus a man is less likely himself to be wronged. This is inculcated by the general law, as the Pythagoreans say, <sup>10</sup> that one least of all should injure a wife as being 'a suppliant and seated at the hearth'.<sup>1</sup> Now wrong inflicted by a husband is the formation of connexions outside his own house. As regards sexual intercourse, a man ought not to accustom himself not to need it at all nor to be unable to rest when it is lacking,<sup>2</sup> but so as to be

<sup>1</sup> Reading in l. 11 with Scaliger and Wilamowitz *ἐφ' ἐστίας ἡμένην*. The *κοινὸς νόμος* will then be that which forbids injury to suppliants, which, says the author, includes injury to a wife. *ἀφ' ἐστίας ἡγμένην* can scarcely mean 'torn from the hearth'.

<sup>2</sup> Reading in l. 14 with some MSS. *ἀπόντος*.

15 content with or without it. The saying of Hesiod is a good one :

A man should marry a maiden, that habits discreet he may teach her.<sup>1</sup>

For dissimilarity of habits tends more than anything to destroy affection. As regards adornment, husband and wife ought not to approach one another with false affecta-  
20 tion in their person any more than in their manners ; for if the society of husband and wife requires such embellishment, it is no better than play-acting on the tragic stage.

Of possessions, that which is the best and the worthiest 5 subject of economics comes first and is most essential— I mean, man. It is necessary therefore first to provide one-  
25 self with good slaves. Now slaves are of two kinds, the overseer and the worker. And since we see that methods of education produce a certain character in the young, it is necessary when one has procured slaves to bring up carefully those to whom the higher duties are to be entrusted. The intercourse of a master with his slaves should be such as not either to allow them to be insolent or to irritate them.  
30 To the higher class of slaves he ought to give some share of honour, and to the workers abundance of nourishment. And since the drinking of wine makes even freemen insolent, and many nations even of freemen abstain therefrom (the Carthaginians, for instance, when they are on military service), it is clear that wine ought never to be given to  
35 slaves, or at any rate very seldom. Three things make up the life of a slave, work, punishment, and food. To give them food but no punishment and no work makes them  
1344<sup>b</sup> insolent ; and that they should have work and punishment but no food is tyrannical and destroys their efficiency. It remains therefore to give them work and sufficient food ; for it is impossible to rule over slaves without offering rewards, and a slave's reward is his food. And just as all other men  
5 become worse when they get no advantage by being better and there are no rewards for virtue and punishments for

<sup>1</sup> *Works and Days*, 699.

vice, so also is it with slaves. Therefore we must take careful notice and bestow or withhold everything, whether food or clothing or leisure or punishments, according to merit, in word and deed following the practice adopted by physicians in the matter of medicine, remembering at the 10 same time that food is not medicine because it must be given continually.

The slave who is best suited for his work is the kind that is neither too cowardly nor too courageous. Slaves who have either of these characteristics are injurious to their owners; those who are too cowardly lack endurance, while the high-spirited are not easy to control. All ought to have 15 a definite end in view; for it is just and beneficial to offer slaves their freedom as a prize, for they are willing to work when a prize is set before them and a limit of time is defined. One ought to bind slaves to one's service by the pledges of wife and children, and not to have many persons of the same race in a household, as is the case in a city. One ought to provide sacrifices and pleasures more for the 20 sake of slaves than for freemen; for in the case of the former there are present more of the reasons why such things have been instituted.

- 6 The economist ought to possess four qualities in relation to wealth. He ought to be able to acquire it, and to guard it; otherwise there is no advantage in acquiring it, but it is a case of drawing water with a sieve, or the proverbial jar 25 with a hole in it. Further, he ought to be able to order his possessions aright and make a proper use of them; for it is for these purposes that we require wealth. The various kinds of property ought to be distinguished, and those which are productive ought to be more numerous than the unproductive, and the sources of income ought to be so distributed that they may not run a risk with all their possessions at the same time. For the preservation of wealth it is best to 30 follow both the Persian and the Laconian methods. The Attic system of economy is also useful; for they sell their produce and buy what they want, and thus there is not the need of a storehouse in the smaller establishments. The Persian



system was that everything should be organized and that  
 35 the master should superintend everything personally, as Dio  
 said of Dionysius; for no one looks after the property of  
 others as well as he looks after his own, so that, as far as  
 1345<sup>a</sup> possible, a man ought to attend to everything himself. The  
 sayings of the Persian and the Libyan may not come  
 amiss; the former of whom, when asked what was the best  
 thing to fatten a horse, replied, 'His master's eye', while  
 the Libyan, when asked what was the best manure, answered,  
 5 'The landowner's foot-prints'. Some things should be  
 attended to by the master, others by his wife, according to  
 the sphere allotted to each in the economy of the house-  
 hold. Inspections need only be made occasionally in small  
 establishments, but should be frequent where overseers are  
 employed. For perfect imitation is impossible unless a  
 good example is set, especially when trust is delegated to  
 10 others; for unless the master is careful, it is impossible for  
 his overseers to be careful. And since it is good for the  
 formation of character and useful in the interests of economy,  
 masters ought to rise earlier than their slaves and retire to  
 rest later, and a house should never be left unguarded any  
 15 more than a city, and when anything needs doing it ought  
 not to be left undone, whether it be day or night. There  
 are occasions when <sup>1</sup> a master should rise while it is still  
 night; for this helps to make a man healthy and wealthy  
 and wise. On small estates the Attic system of disposing  
 of the produce <sup>2</sup> is a useful one; but on large estates, where  
 20 a distinction is made between yearly and monthly expendi-  
 ture and likewise between the daily and the occasional use  
 of household appliances, such matters must be entrusted to  
 overseers. Furthermore, a periodical inspection should be  
 made, in order to ascertain what is still existing and what  
 is lacking.

The house must be arranged both with a view to one's  
 25 possessions <sup>3</sup> and for the health and well-being of its in-  
 habitants. By possessions I mean the consideration of

<sup>1</sup> Reading in l. 16 *τοτέ τε* as suggested by Sylburg.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. 1344<sup>b</sup> 31-3.

<sup>3</sup> *κτήματα* is here used in a very wide sense since it includes not only  
 produce of the land and clothing, but also slaves and even guests.

what is suitable for produce and clothing, and in the case of produce what is suitable for dry and what for moist produce, and amongst other possessions what is suitable for property whether animate or inanimate, for slaves and freemen, women and men, strangers and citizens. With a view to <sup>30</sup> well-being and health, the house ought to be airy in summer and sunny in winter. This would be best secured if it faces north and is not as wide as it is long. In large establishments a man who is no use for other purposes seems to be usefully employed as a doorkeeper to safe- <sup>35</sup> guard what is brought into and out of the house. For the <sup>1345<sup>b</sup></sup> ready use of household appliances the Laconian method is a good one; for everything ought to have its own proper place and so be ready for use and not require to be searched for.

## BOOK II

7 HE who intends to practise economy aright ought to be I  
fully acquainted with the places in which his labour lies  
and to be naturally endowed with good parts and deliber-  
10 ately industrious and upright ; for if he is lacking in any  
of these respects, he will make many mistakes in the  
business which he takes in hand.

Now there are four kinds of economy, that of the king  
(Royal Economy), that of the provincial governor (Satrapic  
Economy), that of the city (Political Economy), and that  
of the individual (Personal Economy). This is a broad  
method of division ; and we shall find that the other forms  
of economy fall within it.

Of these the Royal is the most important and the  
15 simplest, the Political is the most varied and the easiest,  
the Personal the least important and the most varied.<sup>1</sup>  
They must necessarily have most of their characteristics in  
common ; but it is the points which are peculiar to each  
kind that we must consider. Let us therefore examine  
20 Royal Economy first. It is universal in its scope, but has  
four special departments—the coinage, exports, imports,  
and expenditure. To take each of these separately : in  
regard to the coinage,<sup>2</sup> I mean the question as to what  
coin should be struck and when it should be of a high and  
when of a low value ; in the matter of exports and imports,  
what commodities it will be advantageous to receive from  
25 the satraps under the Royal rule<sup>3</sup> and dispose of and when ;  
in regard to expenditure, what expenses ought to be cur-  
tailed and when, and whether one should pay what is

<sup>1</sup> This sentence is clearly corrupt. No mention is made of ἡ σατραπική, and ποικιλωτάτη cannot be applied both to ἡ πολιτική and ἡ ἰδιωτική : it is probably right as applied to ἡ ἰδιωτική, being equivalent to ἀνώμαλος in 1346<sup>a</sup> 9.

<sup>2</sup> Reading as suggested by Bekker ἑκαστον περὶ μὲν τὸ νόμισμα in l. 22.

<sup>3</sup> ἐν τῇ ταγῇ in l. 25 is probably corrupt.



expended in coin or in commodities which have an equivalent value.

Let us next take Satrapic Economy. Here we find six kinds of revenue: from land, from the peculiar products of the district, from merchandise, from taxes, from cattle, <sup>30</sup> and from all other sources. Of these the first and most important is that which comes from land (which some call tax on land-produce, others tithe); next in importance is the revenue from peculiar products, from gold, or silver, or copper, or anything else which is found in a particular <sup>35</sup> locality; thirdly comes that derived from merchandise; fourthly, the revenue from the cultivation of the soil and <sup>1346<sup>a</sup></sup> from market-dues; fifthly, that which comes from cattle, which is called tax on animal produce or tithe; and sixthly, that which is derived from other sources, which is called the poll-tax or tax on handicraft.

Thirdly, let us examine the economy of the city. <sup>5</sup> Here the most important source of revenue is from the peculiar products of the country, next comes that derived from merchandise and customs,<sup>1</sup> and lastly that which comes from the ordinary taxes.

Fourthly and lastly, let us take Personal Economy. Here we find wide divergences, because economy is not necessarily always practised with one aim in view. It is <sup>10</sup> the least important kind of economy, because the incomings and expenses are small. Here the main source of revenue is the land, next other kinds of property,<sup>2</sup> and thirdly investments of money.

Further, there is a consideration which is common to all branches of economy and which calls for the most careful attention, especially in personal economy, namely, that the <sup>15</sup> expenditure must not exceed the income.

Now that we have mentioned the divisions of the subject, we must next consider whether, if the satrapy or city with which we are dealing can produce all,<sup>3</sup> or the most important revenues which we have just distinguished, some

<sup>1</sup> ἡ πρόσσδος ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν διαγωγῶν is apparently equivalent to the διαγωγίον (*portorium*) of Polyb. 26. 7. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Spengel κτημάτων in l. 13.

<sup>3</sup> Reading with Schneider and Bekker ἅπαντα <ᾶ> in l. 19.

rather than others<sup>1</sup> ought to be employed. Next we must consider which sources of revenue do not exist at all but can be introduced, or are at present small but can be augmented; and which of the expenses at present incurred, and to what amount, can be entirely<sup>2</sup> dispensed with without  
 25 doing any harm.

We have now mentioned the various kinds of economy and their constituent parts. We have further made a collection of all the methods that we conceived to be worth mentioning, which men of former days have employed or cunningly devised in order to provide themselves with  
 30 money. For we conceived that this information also might be useful; for a man will be able to apply some of these instances to such business<sup>3</sup> as he himself takes in hand.

Cypselus, the Corinthian, having vowed to Zeus that, if 2 he made himself master of the city, he would dedicate to him all the property of the Corinthians, ordered them to  
 1346<sup>b</sup> draw up a list of their possessions. When they had done so, he took a tenth part from each citizen and told them to trade with the remainder. As each year came round, he did the same thing again, with the result that in ten years  
 5 he had all that he had consecrated to the god, while the Corinthians had acquired other property.

Lygdamis, the Naxian, having driven certain men into exile, when no one was willing to buy their possessions except at a low price, sold them to the exiles themselves. And offerings belonging to them which were lying<sup>4</sup> half  
 10 finished in certain workshops he sold to the exiles and any one else who wished to buy them, allowing the name of the purchaser to be inscribed upon them.

The Byzantines being in need of money sold the sacred enclosures belonging to the state.<sup>5</sup> Those which

<sup>1</sup> Reading as suggested by Susemihl <τούτοις μᾶλλον αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκείνοις, ἢ ἐκείνοις μᾶλλον ἢ> τούτοις in l. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Omitting τὰ in l. 24 with the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Reading in l. 30 ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι (Richards) τούτων ἐφαρμόσει τις (Sylburg) οἷς (Schneider) ἂν αὐτὸς πραγματεύηται.

<sup>4</sup> Reading with Keil ἀποκείμενα in l. 10.

<sup>5</sup> The *locus classicus* on such enclosures is the speech of Lysias περὶ τοῦ σηκοῦ.

were fertile they sold on lease, and those which were unproductive in perpetuity. They treated in the same way <sup>15</sup> the enclosures which belonged to associations and clans and all which were situated on private estates ; for the owners of the rest of the property bought them at a high price. To the associations they sold other lands, viz. the public lands round the gymnasium, or the market-place, or the harbour, and the places where markets were held at which various <sup>20</sup> commodities were sold, and they gave the rights over the sea-fisheries and the sale of salt, and the stands<sup>1</sup> where jugglers, and soothsayers, and druggists, and other such persons plied their trades ; but they ordered them to pay over a third of their profits. And they sold the right of changing money to a single bank, and no one else might <sup>25</sup> either give money in exchange to any one, or receive it in exchange from any one, under penalty of forfeiting the money. And whereas there was a law amongst them that no one should have political rights who was not born of parents who were both citizens, being in want of money they passed a decree that a man who was sprung from a citizen on one side only should become a citizen if he paid down thirty minae. And as they were suffering from want of food and lack of money, they made the ships from <sup>30</sup> the Black Sea put in ; but, as time went on, the merchants protested and so they paid them interest at ten per cent. and ordered those who purchased anything to pay the ten per cent. in addition to the price. And whereas certain resident aliens had lent money on mortgaged <sup>1347<sup>a</sup></sup> property, because these had not the right to hold property, they passed a decree that any one who wished could obtain a title to the property by paying a third of the loan to the state.

Hippias, the Athenian, put up for sale the parts of the upper rooms which projected into the public streets, and <sup>5</sup> the steps and fences in front of the houses, and the doors which opened outwards. The owners of the property therefore bought them, and a large sum was thus collected. He

<sup>1</sup> Reading as suggested by Susemihl *τοιουτοτρόπων* (τοὺς τόπους) in l. 22.

also declared the coinage then current in Athens to be base, and fixing a price for it ordered it to be brought to him ; but when they met to consider the striking of a new type  
10 of coin, he gave them back the same money again. And if any one was about to equip a trireme or a division of cavalry or to provide a tragic chorus or incur expense on any other such state-service, he fixed a moderate fine and allowed him, if he liked, to pay this and be enrolled amongst those who had performed state services. He also ordered that a measure of barley, and another of wheat, and an  
15 obol should be brought to the priestess of Athena-on-the-Acropolis on behalf of any one who died, and that the same offering should be made by any one to whom a child was born.

The Athenians who dwell in Potidaea, being in need of money to carry on war, ordered all the citizens to draw  
20 up a list of their property, each man enrolling not his whole property collectively in his own deme, but each piece of property separately in the place where it was situated, in order that the poor might give in an assessment ; any one who possessed no property was to assess his own person at two minae. On the basis of this assessment they contributed each in full to the state the amount enjoined.

25 Sosipolis of Antissa, when the city was in want of money, since the citizens were wont to celebrate the feast of Dionysus with great splendour and every year went to great expense in providing, amongst other things, very costly victims, persuaded them, when the festival was near at hand, to vow to Dionysus that they would give double offerings  
30 the next year and collect and sell the dedications for the current year. Thus a substantial sum was collected for the needs of the moment.

The people of Lampsacus, expecting a large fleet of triremes to come against them, ordered the dealers to sell a *medimnus* of barley-meal, of which the market price was four *drachmae*, at six *drachmae*, and a *chous* of oil, the price of which was three *drachmae*, at four *drachmae* and a half,  
35 and likewise wine and the other commodities. The individual seller thus received the usual price, while the  
1347<sup>b</sup>

city gained the surplus and so was well provided with money.

The people of Heraclea, when they were sending forty ships against the tyrants on the Bosporus, not being well provided with money, bought up from the merchants all 5 their corn and oil and wine and the rest of their stores, fixing a date in the future at which they were to make the payment. Now it suited the merchants better to sell their cargoes wholesale rather than retail. So the people of Heraclea, giving the soldiers two months' pay, took the provisions with them<sup>1</sup> on board merchant-vessels and put 10 an official in charge of each of the ships. When they reached the enemies' territory, the soldiers bought up all the provisions from them.<sup>2</sup> Thus money was collected before the generals had to pay the soldiers again, and so the same money was distributed time after time until 15 they returned home.

When the Samians begged for money for their return home, the Lacedaemonians passed a decree that they would fast for one day, themselves and their households and their beasts of burden, and would give to the Samians the amount that each of them usually expended.

The Chalcedonians, having a large number of foreign 20 mercenaries in their city, owed them pay which they could not give them. They therefore proclaimed that if any citizen or resident alien had any right of seizure against any state or individual and wished to exercise it, they should give in their names. When many did so, they seized the ships which sailed into the Black Sea on a plausible pretext, 25 and appointed a time at which they promised to give an account of their captures. When a large sum of money had been collected they dismissed the soldiers and submitted themselves to trial for their reprisals, and the state out of its revenues made restitution to those who had been 30 unjustly plundered.

<sup>1</sup> Reading with Kirchhoff in l. 9 *διδόντες διμήνου μισθὸν παρήγον ἅμα τὴν ἀγοράν*. With this reading we have an example of the common confusion of λλ and μ.

<sup>2</sup> An early example of a Field Force Canteen.



When the people of Cyzicus were at variance and the popular party had gained the upper hand and the wealthy citizens had been imprisoned, they passed a decree, since they owed money to their soldiers, that they would not put their prisoners to death, but would exact money from them and send them into exile.

35 The Chians, who have a law that a public register of debts should be kept, being in want of money decreed that  
1348<sup>a</sup> debtors should pay their debts to the state and that the state should disburse the interest from its revenues to the creditors until they should reach their former state of prosperity.<sup>1</sup>

5 Mausolus, tyrant of Caria, when the king of Persia sent and ordered him to pay his tribute, collected together the richest men in the country and told them that the king was demanding the tribute, but he himself could not provide it. And certain men, who had been suborned to do so, immediately promised to contribute and named the amount that each would give. Upon this the wealthier men, partly  
10 through shame and partly from fear, promised and actually contributed far larger sums.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he called together the Mylassians and told them that their city, which was his capital, was unfortified and that the king of Persia was marching against him. He therefore ordered the Mylassians each to contribute as much money  
15 as possible, saying that by what they paid now they would save the rest of their possessions.<sup>2</sup> When a large contribution had been made, he kept the money and told them that at the moment the god would not allow them to build the wall.

Condalus, a governor under Mausolus, whenever during his passage through the country any one brought  
20 him a sheep or a pig or a calf, used to make a record of the

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be that all debts were repaid to the state by private debtors instead of to their creditors, and the state then paid interest to the creditors, thus virtually raising a loan for itself. Many editors emend in l. 3 to *ἕως ἂν καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκπορίσωσι*, 'until they could afford to pay up the capital'.

<sup>2</sup> Reading in l. 15 *τὰ λοιπὰ* <ἂν> σφίζειν (Richards).

donor and the date and order him to take it back home and keep it until he returned. When he thought that sufficient time had elapsed, he used to ask for the animal which was being kept for him, and reckoned up and demanded the produce-tax on it as well. And any trees which projected over or fell into the royal roads he used to sell as profits.<sup>1</sup> And if any soldier died, he demanded<sup>2</sup> a drachma as a toll<sup>25</sup> for the corpse passing the gates; and so he not only received money from this source, but also the officers could not deceive him as to the date of the soldier's death. Also, noticing that the Lycians were fond of wearing their hair long, he pretended that a dispatch had come from the king of Persia ordering him to send hair to make false fringes<sup>30</sup> and that he was therefore commanded by Mausolus to cut off their hair. He therefore said that, if they would pay him a fixed poll-tax, he would send for hair to Greece. They gladly gave him what he asked, and a large sum of money was collected from a great number of them.

Aristotle, the Rhodian, who was governor of Phocaea,<sup>35</sup> was in want of money. Perceiving therefore that there were two parties amongst the Phocaeans, he made secret<sup>1348<sup>b</sup></sup> overtures to one party saying that the other faction was offering him money on condition that he would turn the scale in their favour, but that for his own part he would rather receive money from *them* and give the direction of affairs into their hands. When they heard this, those who were present immediately gave him the money, supplying<sup>5</sup> him with all he asked for. He then went to the other party and showed them what he had received from their opponents; whereupon they also professed their willingness to give him an equal sum. So he took the money from both parties and reconciled them one with another. Also, noticing that there was much litigation among the citizens and that there<sup>10</sup> were grievances of long standing among them owing to war, he established a court of law and proclaimed that unless they submitted their cases to judgement within a period<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπικαρπίας is here used in its wider sense of 'profits'; in l. 23 it has the special sense of 'tax on animal produce', as in 1346<sup>a</sup> 2.

<sup>2</sup> Reading in l. 26 διαπύλιον ἔπραττε (Scaliger).

<sup>3</sup> Reading in l. 12 χρόνον (Richards).

which he appointed, there would be no further settlement of their former claims. Then getting control of the deposits paid in a number of suits, and the cases which were subject  
 15 to appeal with damages<sup>1</sup>, and receiving money from both parties by other means, he collected a large sum.

The Clazomenians, when they were suffering from famine and were in want of money, decreed that private individuals who had any olive oil should lend it to the state, which would pay them interest. Now olives are abundant  
 20 in this country. When the owners had lent them the oil, they hired ships and sent it to the marts from which their corn came, giving the value of the oil as a pledge. And when they owed pay to their soldiers to the amount of twenty talents and could not provide it, they paid the generals four talents a year as interest. But finding that they did not reduce the principal and that they were  
 25 continually spending money to no purpose, they struck an iron coinage to represent a sum of twenty talents of silver, and then distributing it among the richest citizens in proportion to their wealth they received in exchange an equivalent sum in silver. Thus the individual citizens had money to disburse for their daily needs and the state was  
 30 freed from debt. They then paid them interest out of their revenues and continually divided it up and distributed it in proper proportions, and called in the iron coinage.

The Selybrians were once in need of money; and so, as they had a law which forbade the export of corn to another state<sup>2</sup> which was suffering from famine, and they  
 35 had a supply of last season's corn, they passed a decree that private persons should hand over their corn to the state at  
 1349<sup>a</sup> a fixed price, each reserving a year's supply; they then allowed any one who wished to export his supply, fixing a price which they thought would give them a profit.

The people of Abydos, when their land was untilld owing to political dissensions and the resident aliens were paying them nothing because they still owed them money,  
 5 passed a decree that any one who was willing should lend

<sup>1</sup> Reading *ὕφ' ἑαυτὸν* for *ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν* in l. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Keil *〈τοῖς ἄλλοις〉 ἐν* in l. 34.

money to the farmers in order that they might till the soil, providing that they should enjoy the first-fruits of the crop and that the others should have what remained.

The Ephesians, being in need of money, made a law that their women should not wear gold ornaments, but <sup>10</sup> should lend to the state what they already possessed; and fixing the amount which was to be paid they allowed the name of any one who presented that sum to be inscribed as that of the dedicator on certain of the pillars in the temple.

Dionysius of Syracuse, wishing to collect money, called together an assembly and declared that Demeter had <sup>15</sup> appeared to him and bade him bring the ornaments of the women to her temple. He had therefore, he said, done so with the ornaments of the women of his own household; and he demanded that every one else should do the same, lest vengeance from the goddess should fall upon them. Any one who refused would, he said, be guilty of sacrilege. When all had brought what they possessed through fear of <sup>20</sup> the goddess and dread of Dionysius, after dedicating the ornaments to the goddess he then appropriated them, saying that they were lent to him by her. And when some time had elapsed and the women began wearing ornaments again, he ordered that any woman who wished to wear jewellery of gold should dedicate a fixed sum in the temple.

And when he was intending to build triremes, he knew <sup>25</sup> that he would be in want of money. He therefore called together an assembly and said that a certain city was to be betrayed to him and that he needed money for this purpose. He therefore asked the citizens to contribute two staters each; and they did so. He then let two or three days elapse, and pretending that he had failed in his attempt, after commending their generosity he gave every man his contribution back again. By this action he won the hearts of the <sup>30</sup> citizens. And so they again contributed, thinking that they would receive their money back again; but he took the money and kept it for building his ships.

And when he was in need of money he struck a coinage of tin, and calling an assembly together he spoke at great

length in favour of the money which had been coined ; and they, even against their will, decreed that every one<sup>1</sup> should regard any of it that he accepted as silver and not as tin.

On another occasion, being in want of money, he asked 1349<sup>b</sup> the citizens to give him contributions ; but they declared that they had nothing to give. Accordingly he brought out his own household goods and offered them for sale, as though compelled to do so by poverty. When the Syracusans bought them, he kept a record of what each had bought, 5 and when they had paid the price, he ordered each of them to bring back the articles which he had bought.

And when the citizens owing to the taxes could not keep cattle, he said that he had enough up to the present ; those therefore who kept cattle should now be free from a tax on them. But since many soon acquired a large number of cattle, thinking that they could keep them without paying 10 a tax on them, when he thought that a fitting moment had come he gave orders that they should assess their value and then imposed a tax. Accordingly the citizens, angry at having been deceived, slew their cattle and sold them. And when, to prevent this, he ordered them to kill only as many as were needed for daily use, they next devoted them for sacrifice to the gods. Dionysius then forbade them to sacrifice any female beast.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he 15 ordered all families of orphans to enrol themselves ; and when many<sup>2</sup> had done so, he enjoyed their property until each member of such families came of age.

And after he had captured Rhegium he called an assembly of the inhabitants together and informed them that he would be quite justified in enslaving them, but under 20 the circumstances he would let them go free if he received the amount which he had spent on the war and three *minae* a head from all of them. The Rhegians then brought to light the wealth which before had been hidden, and the poor borrowed from the richer citizens and from foreigners and provided 25 the sum which he demanded. When he had received it

<sup>1</sup> Reading *ἐκαστον* (Richards) in l. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Schneider *πολλῶν* for *ἀλλων* in l. 16.



from them he nevertheless sold them all as slaves, and seized all the treasures which had before been hidden and were now brought to light.

Also having borrowed money from the citizens under promise of repayment, when they demanded it back he ordered them to bring him whatever money any of them possessed, threatening them with death as the penalty if they failed to do so. When the money had been brought, he <sup>30</sup> issued it again after stamping it afresh so that each *drachma* had the value of two *drachmae*, and paid back the original debt and the money which they brought him on this occasion.<sup>1</sup>

And when he sailed against Tyrrhenia with a hundred ships he took much gold and silver and a considerable quantity of other ornaments of all kinds from the temple of Leucothea. And knowing that the sailors too were keeping <sup>35</sup> many things for themselves, he made a proclamation that every one should bring him the half of what he had and <sup>1350<sup>a</sup></sup> might retain the other half; and he threatened with death any one who failed to deliver up the half. The sailors, supposing that if they gave up the half they would be allowed undisturbed possession of the rest, did so; but Dionysius, when he had received it, ordered them to go back and bring him the other half. 5

The Mendaecans used the proceeds of their harbour customs and their other dues for the administration of their city, but did not exact the taxes on land and houses; but they kept a register of property-owners, and whenever they needed money, those who owed taxes paid them. They <sup>10</sup> thus profited during the time which elapsed by having full use of the money without paying interest.

When they were at war with the Olynthians and needed money, seeing that they had slaves they decreed that a female and a male slave should be left to each citizen and the rest sold, so that private individuals might lend money <sup>15</sup> to the state.<sup>2</sup>

Callistratus, when the harbour-dues in Macedonia

<sup>1</sup> Reading in l. 32 as suggested by Susemihl (ἀπέδωκε καὶ ὁ νῦν) ἀνήνεγκαν.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ὥς τῇ πόλει for τῇ πόλει ὥς in l. 14.

were usually sold at twenty talents, made them fetch double that price. For, noticing that the richer men always bought them because it was necessary that the sureties provided  
 20 for the twenty talents should be possessed of one talent, he proclaimed that any one who liked could purchase them and that sureties should be provided for only a third or any other proportion which<sup>1</sup> he could persuade them each to guarantee.

Timotheus, the Athenian, when he was at war with the Olynthians, and in need of money, struck a bronze  
 25 coinage and distributed it to the soldiers. When they protested, he told them that the merchants and retailers would all sell their goods on the same terms as before. He then told the merchants, if they received any bronze money, to use it again to buy the commodities sent in for sale from the country and anything which was brought in as plunder, and said that, if they brought him any bronze money which they had left over, they should receive silver for it.

30 When he was making war in the neighbourhood of Corcyra and was in difficulties, and the soldiers were demanding their pay and refusing to obey him and threatening to go over<sup>2</sup> to the enemy, he called together an assembly and told them that no money could reach him  
 35 owing to the stormy weather, for he had, he declared, such an abundance of supplies that he offered them as a free gift the three months' rations which they had already received.  
 1350<sup>b</sup> They, supposing that Timotheus would never have made such a valuable concession unless he really expected the money, kept silence about the pay; and he meanwhile achieved the objects which he had in view.

When he was besieging Samos he actually sold to the  
 5 inhabitants the fruits and the produce of their lands, and so had abundance of money to pay his soldiers. And when there was a shortage of provisions in the camp owing to the arrival of newcomers, he forbade the sale of corn ready ground, and of any smaller measure than a *medimnus*, and  
 10 of any liquid in a smaller quantity than a *metreta*. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Reading καθ' ὅσον (ἂν) ἑκάστους (Richards) in l. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Reading ἀποπορεύεσθαι (Richards) in l. 33.

ingly the commanders of divisions and companies bought up provisions wholesale and distributed them to the soldiers, while the newcomers brought their own provisions with them and, when they departed, sold anything that they had left. The result was that the soldiers had an abundance of provisions.

15

Didales, the Persian, having soldiers under his command, could supply their daily needs from the enemy's country, but having no money to give them, and being requested to pay them, when the time came at which it was due he devised the following plan. He called together an assembly and told them that he had no lack of money, but <sup>20</sup> that it was in a certain place which he named. He therefore moved his camp and started to march thither. Then when he was near the place, he went in advance to it and took from the temples there all the embossed silver plate which they contained. He then loaded his mules so that the silver plate was visible, and they looked as though they were carrying solid silver. The soldiers, when they saw it, <sup>25</sup> thought that the loads were all solid silver and were encouraged, thinking that they would receive their pay. But Didales told them that he must go to Amisus and have the silver minted. Now the journey to Amisus was one of many days and exposed to the weather. So all this time he made use of the army, merely giving them their rations.

He kept in his personal service all the skilled artificers <sup>30</sup> in the army and the retailers who carried on traffic in any commodity; and no one else was permitted to do any of these things.

Chabrias, the Athenian, advised Taus, king of Egypt, when he was starting on a warlike expedition and was in need of money, to say to the priests that owing to the <sup>35</sup> expense some of the temples and the majority of the priests must be dispensed with. When the priests heard this, each <sup>1351<sup>a</sup></sup> wishing to retain their own temple, they privately offered him <sup>1</sup> money. And when Taus had accepted money from all of them, Chabrias advised him to order them to expend

<sup>1</sup> Reading in l. 2 *ἰδία* (cp. 1352<sup>b</sup> 23) with Scaliger and Schneider for *ἰδία*, and *αὐτῶν* with Sylburg and Schneider for *αὐτοῖς*.

a tenth part of the amount which they formerly spent on  
 5 their temple<sup>1</sup> and to lend the rest to him until the war  
 against the king of Persia should come to an end. And he  
 advised him to fix the necessary amount and demand a  
 contribution from each household and likewise from each  
 individual; and that, when corn was sold, the buyer and  
 the seller should give an obol for each *artabe* over and  
 10 above the price; and that he should demand the payment  
 of a tenth part of the profits derived from shipping and  
 manufactures and any other form of industry. And he  
 advised him, when he was leaving the country on an ex-  
 pedition, to order that any unminted silver or gold which  
 any one possessed should be brought to him: and when  
 15 most people brought it, he advised him to make use of it  
 and to commend the lenders to the provincial governors so  
 that they might repay them out of the taxes.

Iphicrates, the Athenian, when Cotys had collected  
 an army, provided him with money in the following way.  
 20 He advised him to order the men under his command to  
 sow land for him with three *medimni* of corn. The result  
 of this was that a great quantity of corn was collected.  
 Accordingly he brought it down to the markets and sold it,  
 and thus gained an abundance of money.

Cotys, the Thracian, tried to borrow money from the  
 25 Peirinthians so that he might collect an army; but the  
 Peirinthians refused to give him any. He therefore begged  
 them at any rate to grant him some men from among their  
 citizens to act as a garrison for certain strongholds, in order  
 that he might make full use of the soldiers who were at  
 present on duty there. To this request they promptly  
 acceded, thinking that they would thus obtain possession of  
 30 these strongholds. But Cotys threw into prison those who  
 were sent and ordered the Peirinthians to recover them by  
 sending him the money which he wished to borrow from  
 them.

Mentor, the Rhodian, having arrested Hermeias and  
 seized his estates, allowed the overseers whom Hermeias  
 35 had appointed to retain their positions. But when they all

<sup>1</sup> Omitting *καὶ εἰς αὐτόν* in l. 4 with Γ and Schneider.

felt secure and took steps to recover anything which had been hidden or deposited for safety elsewhere, he arrested them and deprived them of all they had.

Memnon, the Rhodian, after making himself master 135<sup>1b</sup> of Lampsacus, was in need of money. He therefore exacted a heavy tribute from the richest citizens, telling them that they could collect it from the rest of the citizens. But when the latter had contributed, he ordered them to lend him 5 this sum as well, fixing a period<sup>1</sup> within which he would pay them back.

On another occasion when he was in need of money, he demanded contributions from them, saying that they should be repaid out of the revenues. They therefore contributed, thinking that they would soon receive their money back. But when the time was at hand for the payment of the revenues, he told them that he needed these revenues as 10 well, but would repay them later with interest.

He also excused himself from paying the rations and wages of those who were serving under him for six days in the year,<sup>2</sup> declaring that on these days they had no watch to keep, no marching and no expenses, meaning the 'omitted' days.<sup>3</sup> As he was already giving the soldiers their rations 15 on the second day of the new month, he thus passed over three days in the first month and five by the following month, and so he gradually gained on them till he reached a total of thirty days.<sup>4</sup>

Charidemus of Orus, who held certain places in Aeolia, when Artabazus was marching against him needed 20 money to pay his soldiers. At first, then, the citizens gave

<sup>1</sup> Reading with Kirchhoff χρόνον for ἐν χρόνῳ in l. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Richards τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ in l. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Memnon's argument seems to have been that of the twelve months in the year six were 'hollow' months, i. e. had only twenty-nine days, and that since thirty was the proper number of days in a month, he would be paying them for six days too much, if he gave them the same amount for a 'hollow' as for a 'full' month.

<sup>4</sup> The year consisting of twelve months of twenty-nine and thirty days alternately, in the first month he docked them of three days' pay (one day on the ground that it was a 'hollow' month, and two days by paying them in advance on the second day for the rest of the month); in the second month, which was not a 'hollow' month, he deprived them of two days' pay by paying them in advance on the second day. They thus lost five days in each period of two months, i. e. a total of thirty days in the year.



him contributions, but afterwards they declared that they had nothing left to give. Charidemus then ordered the inhabitants of the place which he thought was richest to send away to another place any coin or other valuable treasure which they possessed, and he promised to give them an  
25 escort; at the same time it was clear that he himself was also removing his valuables. When they had obeyed him, he led them a little way outside the city and, after examining what they had, took all that he needed and sent them back again. He also made a proclamation in the cities over which he ruled that no one was to keep any  
30 arms in his house, the penalty for so doing being a fine which he specified. He then took no further action and paid no attention to the matter. The citizens, thinking that he had not meant the proclamation to be taken seriously, continued to keep the arms which they happened to possess. But Charidemus suddenly instituted a house to house search and exacted the fine from those in whose  
35 houses he found any arms.

A certain Philoxenus, a Macedonian who was satrap of Caria, being in need of money, said that he intended to celebrate the Dionysia, and he nominated the richest of  
1352<sup>a</sup> the Carians to defray the cost of the choruses and gave directions as to what they had to supply. But seeing that they were annoyed, he sent to them secretly and asked them what they were willing to give to be released from serving. They declared their readiness to give considerably  
5 more than they thought it would cost them, in order to be freed from the trouble and the neglect of their private affairs which it would entail. Philoxenus accepted what they offered and put others on the list, until he received from them what he wanted and what each could spare.

Evaeses, the Syrian, being satrap of Egypt, discovering that the provincial governors were on the point of  
10 revolting from him, summoned them to the palace and hanged them all, and ordered that their relatives should be told that they were in prison. Their relatives therefore severally began to negotiate on their behalf and tried to buy the release of the captives. Evaeses made an agree-

ment in each case and, after receiving the sums for which <sup>15</sup> he had stipulated, restored them to their relatives—dead.

Cleomenes, an Alexandrian who was satrap of Egypt, when there was a severe famine everywhere else while Egypt was less seriously affected, forbade the export of corn, and when the provincial governors declared that they would not be able to pay the tribute because corn could not be exported, he cancelled the prohibition, but <sup>20</sup> put a heavy tax on the corn. The result was that, if he did not succeed in getting a large tax at the cost of a small exportation, at least <sup>1</sup> the provincial governors lost their excuse.

As he was sailing through the district in which the crocodile is regarded as a deity, one of his slaves was carried off. He therefore summoned the priests and told <sup>25</sup> them that since he had been injured without provocation he intended to take vengeance <sup>2</sup> on the crocodiles, and gave orders to hunt them. The priests, in order that their god might not be affronted, collected all the gold that they possessed and presented it to him, with the result that he desisted.

When king Alexander commanded him to found a city near the Pharos and to establish there the mart which was <sup>30</sup> formerly held at Canopus, he sailed to Canopus and told the priests and the owners of property there that he had come to transfer them. The priests and inhabitants collected and gave him a sum of money to induce him to leave their mart undisturbed. This he accepted and for the moment <sup>35</sup> left them alone, but afterwards, when he had the material for building ready, he sailed to Canopus and demanded an excessive amount of money from them, which he <sup>1352<sup>b</sup></sup> said represented the difference to him between having the mart near the Pharos and at Canopus. And when they said that they would not be able to give him the money he made them move their city.

And when he had sent some one to make a purchase and discovered that his messenger had got what he wanted

<sup>1</sup> Reading γε for τε (W. D. Ross) in l. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Reading with Keil ἀμυνεῖσθαι for ἀμύνεσθαι in l. 25.

5 cheaply but intended to charge him an excessive price, he told the friends of the purchaser that he had heard that he had made his purchases at an excessive price and therefore he should not pay any attention to him; at the same time with assumed wrath he railed against his stupidity. When  
 10 they heard this they told Cleomenes that he ought not to believe those who spoke against the messenger until he came himself and rendered his account. When the purchaser arrived they told him what Cleomenes had said; and he, wishing to make a good impression on them and on Cleomenes, submitted the prices at which he had actually bought the goods.

When corn was being sold in the country at ten *drachmae*,  
 15 he summoned the dealers and asked them at what price they would do business with him. They named a lower price than that at which they were selling to the merchants. However, he ordered them<sup>1</sup> to hand over their corn at the same price as they were selling to every one else; and fixing the price of corn at thirty-two *drachmae* he then sold it himself.

20 He also called the priests together and told them that the expenditure<sup>2</sup> on the temples in the country was excessive; consequently some of the temples and the majority of the priests must be abolished. The priests individually and collectively gave him the sacred treasures, thinking that he really intended to carry out his threat and because each wished that his own temple should be un-  
 25 disturbed and himself continue to be priest.

Antimenos, the Rhodian, being put by Alexander in charge of the roads<sup>3</sup> round Babylon, raised money in the following way. An ancient law existed in Babylonia that anything which was brought into the country should pay a duty of ten per cent., but no one ever enforced it. Antimenos, waiting till all the satraps and armies were  
 30 expected and no small number of ambassadors and crafts-

<sup>1</sup> Reading with Bekker *ἐκείνους* in l. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Omitting *ἀνόμελον* with some MSS. in l. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *ἡμιόδιος* in l. 26 is corrupt, but the right sense is given by the Latin version, which reads *curatione ei data viarum*.

men summoned from abroad, bringing others with them,<sup>1</sup> and persons travelling on their own private affairs, and many gifts were being brought in, exacted the ten per cent. duty according to the existing law.

On another occasion, when providing the slaves who were to serve in the army, he commanded that any owner who wished should register the value which he put upon them, <sup>35</sup> and they were to pay eight *drachmae* a year; if the slave ran away the owner was to receive the price which he had registered.<sup>2</sup> Many slaves being registered, he amassed a <sup>1353<sup>a</sup></sup> considerable sum of money. And whenever any slave ran away he ordered the satrap of the country<sup>3</sup> in which the camp was situated to recover the runaway or else to pay the price to the owner.

Ophelas, the Olynthian, having appointed a super- <sup>5</sup> intendent over the province of Athribis, when the provincial governors of that district came to him and expressed their willingness to pay of their own accord a much larger sum and begged him to dismiss the superintendent whom he had just appointed, asked them if they would be able to <sup>10</sup> pay what they promised; when they answered in the affirmative he left the superintendent at his post and bade him exact the amount of tribute which they themselves had assessed. Thus he did not think it right either to degrade the official whom he had appointed or to impose a heavier tribute upon them than they themselves had fixed, but at the same time he himself received a far larger amount of money.

Pythocles, the Athenian, recommended to the Athe- <sup>15</sup> nians that the state should take the lead from the mines at Laurium out of private hands at the market price of two *drachmae* and that they should then themselves fix the price at six *drachmae* and so sell it.

Chabrias, when crews had been enrolled for a hundred and twenty ships and Taus only needed sixty, ordered the <sup>20</sup> crews of the sixty ships which remained behind to supply

<sup>1</sup> Omitting in l. 31 τοὺς before ἀγούρας (Aldine), but the whole phrase ἀλλοὺς τοὺς ἀγούρας is probably corrupt.

<sup>2</sup> An early example of insuring employees.

<sup>3</sup> Reading with Schneider τῆς <γῆς> in l. 3.

those who sailed with two months' provisions, or else to sail themselves. They, wishing to attend to their own affairs, complied with his demand.

Antimenes ordered the satraps to keep the storehouses  
 25 filled along the royal roads according to the custom of the country ; but whenever an army or any other body of men unaccompanied by the king passed along, he used to send one of his own men and sell the contents of the storehouses.

1353<sup>b</sup> Cleomenes, when the first day of the month was approaching and he had to give his soldiers their rations, purposely put back into harbour, and when the new month was approaching he put out again and distributed the rations ; he then left an interval from the beginning of the  
 5 month until the first day of the next month. The soldiers, therefore, because they had recently received their rations, kept quiet ; and Cleomenes by passing over a month deprived them of a month's pay in each year.

Stabelbius, general of the Mysians, when he owed his soldiers pay, called the officers<sup>1</sup> together and told  
 10 them that he had no need of private soldiers but only of officers, and that, when he did need soldiers, he gave each officer a sum of money and sent him out to collect mercenaries, and that he would rather give the officers the pay which ought to go to the soldiers. He therefore ordered them each to send away their own levies out of the country. The officers, thinking that it would be an  
 15 opportunity to make money, dismissed the soldiers in accordance with his commands. But after a short interval he collected the officers together and told them that just as a flute player was no use without a chorus, so too officers were useless without private soldiers ; he therefore ordered them to leave the country.

20 Dionysius, when he was making a round of the temples, whenever he saw a gold or silver table displayed, ordered that a libation should be poured out 'to good luck' and that the table should be carried off ; and whenever he saw amongst the statues one which held out a wine cup, he

<sup>1</sup> Reading in l. 8 ὁ Μυσῶν στρατηγός (Scaliger) ὀφείλων (Schneider) στρατιώταις μισθόν, συγκαλέσας τοὺς ἡγέμονους (Camerarius) ἔφησεν.



would say, 'I accept your pledge', and order the statue to be carried away. And he used to strip the raiment of gold<sup>1</sup> and crowns of silver<sup>2</sup> from the statues, saying that he<sup>25</sup> would give<sup>3</sup> them others lighter and more fragrant; he then clad them with white garments and crowns of white violets.

<sup>1</sup> Omitting τε between τὰ and χρυσῶ in l. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Reading τοὺς στεφάνους (τοὺς ἀργυροῦς) (coni. Susemihl) in l. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Reading εὐωδέστερ' ἂν δοῦναι (Richards) in l. 26.